

MARRIAGE AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

183 gathered (about 175) had married lineal kin or collaterals, at least through first cousins.  
582 However, informants told about two /Kung men in B.P. who had married their  
835 cousins: we could not find out which type of cousins. What was interesting was the  
605 attitude of the informants. They said the men should not have done this, but there  
was no talk of madness or danger or expressions of horror such as we had observed  
when incest was spoken of at other times. No punishments, social or divine, had  
been meted out, according to the informants. Some said they thought it was not too  
bad a thing for a man to do, especially if the woman were a FaSiDa, who is not, they  
said, so much like your sister as a MoSiDa. I believe that the anomaly of the system's  
allowing joking with cousins, although it prohibits marriage, mitigates, in all proba-  
bility, the force of the incest taboo and accounts to some extent for the tolerance to-  
wards the breakers of this rule.

● [124] How much deviation there is in marrying second and third cousins we do not  
know. We soon gave up trying to gather data on relatives more remote than first  
cousins because informants so often did not know the names and we could not rely  
on the information.

582 One account came to our ears of a man who had violated the incest taboo with his  
627 stepdaughter. He was /Gunda Legs, the MoBr of old Gau of Band 1, and he lived  
684 with Band 9. He is dead now. What he did was so outside the good and the normal  
835 that it could be accounted for only by madness. He had drunk the milk of a young  
gemsbok doe, the people told us, and this is what had made him mad. Something  
159 came from his forehead and went in and out, a sort of swelling. After that he fell  
[753] in love with his stepdaughter, ≠Nisa, and married her, and both she and her mother  
were his wives at the same time. The people 'laughed at him' so much because he  
had made such a horrifying 'mistake' that he took his stepdaughter and lived apart  
from his band—the only instance we know of a man and woman living alone. They  
had a son, ≠Toma, who died young. When /Gunda's madness waned he sometimes  
came back to his people; he would go again when his madness returned. People said  
they did not understand why ≠Nisa went with him. They mocked at her, said that  
she was *dole*, 'bad', and that it was 'nonsense' to fall in love with one's stepfather.  
[154] Our informants laughed uneasily when they told about it as they laugh when they  
tell of vultures eating their meat or of being chased by fierce bees when they try to  
take a honeycomb. There came to my mind a penetrating remark made by //Kushay,  
the wife of /Qui in Band 1, which might, I thought, be applied to ≠Nisa. //Kushay  
had said, 'When a Bushman girl goes against the customs of her people and people  
talk about her and say she is bad, she is very unhappy. She would hear the people  
talking and be ashamed and would come to them angry—angry because she is  
ashamed', or, I thought, go away because she is ashamed.

183 Deviations occur in the fourth category. Two men we met had married women  
553 with the same names as their mothers. A man named /Ti/kay married the daughter of  
582 another /Ti/kay, and there were other such instances. /Qui, the husband of the above  
608 refused, but he was going to keep on trying. ≠Toma said he would not do this but  
835 he sees some people doing these things. There are not enough women whom a man  
may properly marry, he said, and he would be in favour of changing the marriage  
prohibitions among name relatives so that a man need avoid only ugly women.

[1 cont.]

115 German or English language, spoken and written, but also of their native tongue in grammar and phonetics.

600 Among the Zulu and Swazi I made my studies more as the occasion arose. Here I was indebted in particular to Father Andreas Ngidi in Inkamana, Princess Maris Dhlamini in Mbabane, and the Italian missionaries in Swaziland for my data. My travels were aided predominantly by the missions. Whereas in the diocese of the Catholic missions of Zululand and Marianhill the main emphasis of the work was upon anthropological and prehistoric

[21] matters, in Southwest Africa ethnological studies were the special task of the expedition. Through the kindness of the provicar,

115 Father Schleipen of the Catholic Mission in Windhoek, the schoolteacher Alpis Kheibeb was assigned to me, with whose help I came in contact with the old Dama. At the [27] Catholic Mission in Okombahe, Father Bachmann introduced me to the brother of Chief Gottlieb Horeseb, who came with a few other people to tell me stories. In Grootfontein it was Father Jaeger who placed his Dama schoolteacher, Nikolaus Horeseb, at my disposal. I then further succeeded in obtaining a very intelligent !Kung woman, Katiti, who was married to a Hei//om, and this made it possible for me to have verbal contact with the !Kung. In Ovamboland I was able to rely on the generous support of the Finnish Evangelical Mission. Through the help of Mr. Leuch I engaged a respected man from Oshigambo, Erastus Mbumba, who had been a clerk in Swakopmund for 13 years and who spoke superb German. The Bushmen informants in Ovamboland spoke Ovambo. In Epukiro the mission superior, Father Watterott, O.M.J., placed at my disposal the village headman, Franz Arenat, who in turn established contact for me with the Nogau Bushmen. The interpreters [124] have to be paid well. To all those who helped me in my work, I should like at this point to express my heartfelt thanks.

123 In order to achieve genuine success in the ethnological field, it is necessary to gain the confidence and sympathy of the natives and to instill in them the conviction that one has no evil intentions toward them or would want to make them look ridiculous;

648 money alone does not suffice. The relationship between the  
576 Whites and Coloreds is of such a kind that the native from the outset faces the White with the greatest distrust. The natives are basically a courteous people, and among themselves they live

[2 cont.]

123 ethnological work among them, for the time being, is quite im-  
 648 possible. Even among the Bushmen the matter was by no means  
 simple. Old Khame, who later became my good friend and in-  
 formant, at first refused to help, saying: "Why should I open my  
 heart to you, since I know very well that you are my enemy." The  
 native also senses very accurately whether the respect one shows  
 him is genuine. Finally, through the way he is treated, he  
 suffers from inferiority complexes that make dealings [3] with  
 him even more difficult. I have treated the natives as though they  
 were Europeans, but naturally with due regard for the native forms  
 of conduct, and in my relations with them I can say that I have  
 been successful.

123 A single serious conflict with the natives can mean the  
 end of an expedition. It is not just that the colonial authorities  
 rightly grant permission to cross the police zone only to those peo-  
 ple who have proved capable of getting along with the natives;  
 [203] another reason is the fact that the transmission of news among the  
 natives is extraordinarily rapid. The news of my measurements  
 in Walvis Bay reached the Otjiwarongo Reserve within 14 days,  
 and from there it reached Otjituo in the extreme northeast in a  
 week, not, as one might think, by postal communication, but  
 through migratory Herero. Upon my arrival in Otjituo the people  
 there were already acquainted with my intentions and my per-  
 sonality. The reader may possibly object to my actual accounts  
 on the ground that I have succeeded in providing a fully rounded  
 picture for only a very few tribes. I can truthfully say that there  
 was a sincere intention to investigate the material thoroughly

[122] everywhere. I carried on the investigations among the individual  
 tribes for as long as I had money available. It is impossible, after  
 all, to depend entirely on a single informant; instead, several  
 informants are needed in every case. Ethnological inquiries are  
 practically the only situations in which the natives have the op-  
 123 portunity to lay down conditions. I can force the native to string  
 124 wire, to harvest maize, or to herd cattle as much as I want at the  
 low price customary in the country, but I cannot force him to  
 reveal his old tribal traditions. Not even the Bushmen wanted to  
 take "brown money," but only "white" and "yellow." After I  
 gained the confidence of the natives, as I can truthfully state,

[3 cont.]

123 the sum of the ethnological results obtained in each case is a func-  
tion of the amount of "yellow" money that in each instance was  
available to me.

000 The results of my work, together with the space available  
to me, determined the size and content of this book. For the  
prehistoric cultures, I refer the reader to the first volume.

114 My original intention of giving a survey of those tribes  
128 among whom I was unable to do research had to be abandoned in  
view of the amount of space placed at my disposal. I intend to  
do this in the final section of the third volume, where, along with  
the anthropological findings, an over-all survey of the cultural  
and racial history of South Africa is to be presented. I have  
[127] referred to the literature at some length only in the accounts on  
the Bushmen tribes of South Africa. In particular the officers of  
the Imperial German Colonial Force performed extremely valuable  
pioneering work in this area. Their accounts, given with military  
exactitude, are unsurpassable and represent ethnological sources  
of the first rank.

126 Wherever I did not carry out the observations myself but  
wrote down the translations of my native interpreters, I have left  
them unchanged. Hence, I hope that the reader will not hold  
against me the stylistic defects that appear here and there. The  
native words for the most part were written down by my interpreters.  
I would have been happy if it had been possible for me to have  
all the texts checked by competent experts. This was impossible.  
I therefore request indulgence in case there are any errors in the  
linguistic transcription. At any rate, these people wrote their  
mother tongue. [Page 4 blank.]

[5]

#### The Bushmen Tribes

172 In terms of geological eras, South Africa has undoubtedly  
been inhabited for as long a time as the other parts of the Old  
World. Naturally, the first cultures we know are those that  
possessed a stone industry. Among these the hand-ax industry,  
which is also the oldest elsewhere, is likewise widespread in South  
and Southwest Africa. Since Reck has most recently established

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[22 cont.]

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appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

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[864] The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

[535]

The sexual element is absent in their religious celebrations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

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On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The

[516]

girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

[576]

Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

[514]

The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

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124 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

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[22 cont.]

- 114 without compromising oneself. Only old people are suitable  
 124 informants, since they are no longer eager for renown.

831 In view of the hard life that the people lead, sexuality, naturally, is not excessively developed. Perverse manipulations are evidently unknown, since my informants did not even understand questions on this subject.

833 Normal sexual intercourse is usually performed in the bush during the time between the evening meal and the rising  
 271 of the moon. Long periods of thirst result in almost total im-  
 147 potence.

157 Despite all the formality, they have an unbridled  
 578 temperament which frequently expresses itself in violent emotional explosions over trivial affairs, which then may easily lead to serious consequences since the poisoned arrow is always at hand. For example, I was told the following story: A Bushman worked on a farm for quite a long time and, with his belly fat from eating maize, came to visit his thin companions. His brother made fun of him for being so fat, saying that he could not run any more, whereupon the fat one retorted: "Just the same, I'll live longer than you." After this brief exchange of words, the scrawny brother stabbed the fat one. -- A film company once wanted to make a film among the !Kung who are settled behind Keibeb; the film was to be called: "When the First Whites Came into the Land." The chief of this horde had a [23] pair of old German military trousers as an emblem of his office and when he was requested to take them off, he responded with the declaration that he would take off his trousers only if the White did the same, whereupon he received a box on the ears that put him and his companions in such a rage that the film company preferred to depart in order to avoid a catastrophe.  
 157 That they can also be quick at repartee is shown by the following story which was repeatedly told to me by Europeans: A Bushman had been accused of poaching. The magistrate asked him: "Don't you know that these animals belong to the king (royal game)?" The Bushman answered: "I saw no 'brand' (property mark)."

[593] As a chief or family head, the Bushman is bossy and unyielding, which is understandable in view of the rigidity of his whole conception of life. The sick Bushmen lie silent and

! KUNG

[24 cont.]

181 He states:

181 "It has been asserted that the Bushmen have no feeling for  
593 one another. I have frequently heard it said that the mothers are cruel to their children and occasionally kill them when their burden becomes too great. As far as I can see, this is untrue. I have frequently seen Bushman mothers kiss their little ones, exactly as European women do, and when the children are ill, they go to all kinds of trouble. The fathers, it is true, are frequently gruff and rough, but never brutal to their children. The girls are usually seen in company with their mothers, the boys with the men. Between mother and daughter there is an intimate relationship of trust. It has also been asserted that Bushmen are ungrateful; this is also quite untrue. They show their feeling of gratitude neither to one another nor to the Whites, but anyone who gains their trust through kindness can tell that they are indeed grateful. They show their gratitude not by words but by deeds. If someone is in need or in distress and a Bushman friend is in the vicinity, the latter will stay by him to the bitter end."

181 The !Kung Bushman in particular is much more a rational than a sentimental person. The extraordinary difficulty that he encounters in obtaining his livelihood makes him extremely independent in his thinking. It was surprising to see the sureness with which not only men but women, too, were able to act as interpreters. Whereas among the Bantu it is difficult to keep the conversation on the subject, the Bushman always sticks to the point. Even the tribal traditions, insofar as superstitious conceptions are concerned, are not safe from the skepticism of the individual. For instance, I once asked a number of Bushmen whether they hunt lions. They answered in the negative, and when I said that this was probably because the lions harbored the spirits of eminent deceased Bushmen, they laughed and said that this was just a tale of the Hei//om Bushmen and some Bushman doctors who had learned this from them. Other men of the same tribe, on the other hand, were firmly convinced that the spirits of great Bushmen doctors reside in the lions.

181 There are also many stories about bush spirits, especially in  
771 the Otjimpolo Veld. My informants repeatedly observed, however, that they did not know whether there was any truth in them, because they had never seen any.

[30 cont.] VON ZASTROW

113 1 and Vedder (1) report further:

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Buschmänner, pp. 412-413.

843  
754 "It is absolutely against the rules to do anything by word or deed to the pregnant woman that might make her angry. Her evil eye in this period is especially dangerous; her angry word or her curse has an even worse effect. Sores, illness, protracted suffering, and death are the consequences of the evil eye or the curse of a pregnant woman.

844 "It is customary to sever the umbilical cord with an instrument only when the blood no longer pulsates. The umbilical cord is not tied off. The afterbirth must be carefully and secretly buried. The life of the child would be greatly endangered if an animal found it or if a feared sorcerer could appropriate a piece of it."

881 As soon as the girls have their first menstruation (/n) (2),

## 2. Female genitalia (/n-i).

a celebration takes place, but in this tribe I was unable to learn any of the details. On this occasion, the women dance, clap their hands, and sing, "giriri, giriri, giriri, uhu, giriri uhu," and so forth.

Men may not be present at this celebration. In a Hei//om horde neighboring the !Kung, spirits are appealed to in all directions on the occasion of this celebration, so that the girl, as an adult, will find veldkost everywhere.

The existence of a true initiation for boys is denied (3).

- [114]  
[124]
3. On this point I was either misunderstood or told a falsehood.

There is merely a kind of testing; an older man goes with the candidate or candidates on a hunting expedition. Under the supervision of the older person, the candidate must kill a specimen of large game. The animal is then brought to the sacred fire, at which the

!KUNG

[ 36 cont. ]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

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291 They do not want European blankets, They catch fire too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re-

[123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having

● [124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position.

On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in

[412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess

[325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in

[439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small

children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that, [531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead embroidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich

301 egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are

[321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence

[556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are

[462] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around

[306] the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of

[302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to

lengthen them.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

!KUNG

[55 cont.]

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[124]

WHATEVER I COULD GET FROM MY individual informants I took down with the exactness of a trained scientist, faithful to the letter and with due regard for all precautions. From these notations I have drawn the inevitable conclusion that a benign supreme being is a reality in their world picture.

776 surrounding Hei//om tribes, [56] for they use the word Somseb.  
171 We should sooner think of Huwe. Huwe or Hue was what the !Kung Bushmen of Tsumeb examined by Vedder called the supreme being. I also know the expression Chuwa from the Bushmen of Ukuambi. This supreme being is conceived of in human form;  
776 it looks like a Bushman and also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky  
772 in a house that has two floors; his wife, whose name is unknown, lives on the lower floor, as well as many children. The souls  
[775] of the deceased live on the upper floor. "The house" (it is supposed to be similar to, but not entirely like a Bushman wind-screen) "is hairy on the outside, like a caterpillar." There are various things up there, but only a single house, namely, that of the captain. Honey, crickets, and fat flies are there in great abundance. The great captain lives on them. In addition, there are a great many butterflies. The following are regarded as the  
776 functions of this supreme being:

1. In the opinion of some, the great captain made the sun, moon, and everything. In the opinion of others, the highest of the spirits, /Nawa, did this.

2. The great captain calls the doctors to their calling and gives them supernatural power.

3. He is the lord of the rain and the lightning.

4. Through the highest of the spirits he sends luck on the hunt or on the search for veldkost.

5. When someone thinks or speaks ill of him, he punishes  
[688] him with lightning. He is not concerned about the other activities of his Bushman children, however, unless someone swears falsely.

695 The Kung have a regular oath, and one of my informants reported  
776 the following to me:

When a group goes hunting and one of the participants is

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Anthropological, Ethnological, and Ethnographic Observations concerning the Heikum and Kung Bushmen (1), with an appendix on the languages of these Bushman Tribes (2).

1. Presented at the session of November 18, 1905 /of the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte/.

121

2. The linguistic notes on the language of the Heikum Bushmen were gathered on the Omuramba Omatako, while the linguistic notes concerning the Kung Bushmen were taken down in a Kung settlement on the northern edge of the Kaukau Veld, approximately 15 kilometers west of Dobe.

A stay of several months in the vicinity of a Bushman settlement near Otjomavare, a watering place on the Omuramba omatako, about 50 kilometers south of Grootfontein and 120 kilometers northeast of Waterberg, gave me the opportunity to make a series of observations on the Bushmen, which, I believe, in part presents new information and in part complements and confirms what is already known. My first concern was to determine the size of the Bushmen, who are traditionally known as abnormally small, by obtaining absolute measurements. A closer acquaintance with this interesting people then led me to make further investigations that will be of interest to the ethnologist and the ethnographer.

I had to manufacture in part the instruments needed for making the anthropological measurements, but I hope that this circumstance has not diminished the accuracy of the results.

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[194] The Bushmen concerned call themselves "Heikum" people, a name in which the 'k' is to be replaced by the click indicated in the Nama language by //. Thirty-one adults and eight children  
124 were measured.

Of the adults 14 are men and 17 women.

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I shall first present the average values of the absolute measurements, and then a number of proportional figures and indices.

## 2 THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE /KUNG BUSHMEN

648 self-reliant. No European farms or institutions such as hospitals, schools, missions, trading posts, labour-recruiting or tax-collecting offices have been established in the Nyae Nyae region. The first government official to go into the region, Mr. Claude McIntyre, Senior Welfare Officer of the Administration of South West Africa, came with our first expedition to Gautscha Pan in 1951. The contact of the /Kung of this region with the neighbouring Bantu-speaking Negro tribes consists of occasional trading trips or visits to their Bushman relatives who are working for Chwana or Herero in western Bechuanaland.

123 We lived for seventeen months with the /Kung of Nyae Nyae; for six weeks in 1951, for fourteen consecutive months in 1952-3, for six weeks again in 1955.

115 During this time we had several interpreters. We wish to express our gratitude particularly to two, Ngani and Kernel Ledimo, who had an exceptionally intelligent grasp of our purposes and problems and whose work was patient and precise. Ngani (this is his own preferred spelling of his name) is a Heikum Bushman who lived for many years with Mr. Courtney Clark in Grootfontein. Among the nine languages Ngani speaks are /Kung and English. Kernel Ledimo is a Chwana of the Barwana tribe who grew up among /Kung Bushmen on his father's cattle posts and was educated in an English school in Bechuanaland.

121 We made the kinship terminology of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region a subject  
184 of special study. Our investigation of the /Kō and /Gikwe kinship terminology shows that there is not one system common to all Bushman groups. This paper deals only with the /Kung system.

• 124 Our method of study was first to take genealogies of the members of six bands, comprising about 175 persons. This took a good deal of time but was rewarding as a background which helped us to place in their web of relationships most of the 600  
[123] /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region whom we came eventually to know by sight or name as we travelled about or as they visited us.

124 After we had gathered the genealogical material we began to ask people what  
601 kinship terms they used for each other. We asked many informants, going over and over the same questions. The terms for parents, offspring, and siblings were easily learned. But the terms for grandparents, grandchildren, and all collaterals threw us into confusion. For each grandparent or grandchild, of either sex, we found that a person might use one of two terms (and one of these has an alternate); and a person might use one of three terms for each collateral, with an alternate, a diminutive, and a distinction man-speaking and woman-speaking to complicate matters. The same term might be applied to relatives on either the paternal or maternal side. We did not know for some time what factor determined, for instance, whether a person applied the term *a* or *b* to his FaFa or MoFa or the term *a*, *b*, or *c* to his FaBr, MoBr or some other collateral. When we asked we were usually told, 'It is our custom', but one informant gravely explained that 'God created people and told them what terms to use for each other. Parents have taught their children ever since what terms to use.' It was ≠Toma, perhaps our most intelligent informant, who at last figured out what it was we did not understand and told us what he had assumed everyone knew, that the term 'followed the name'. In other words there is a factor, which we finally called the factor of the name, which under certain circumstances determines what term the individual uses. We began afresh to gather information to understand and

## THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE /KUNG BUSHMEN

test this factor and eventually we learned that there are two aspects to the /Kung system of kin terminology. In one terms are applied according to the biological position of the persons; in the other terms are applied because persons are classified with others by having the same names, in ways this paper will explain. The factor of the name has resulted in kin terms being applied by persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, but who are considered to be related through the factor of the name in what we call the name-relationship.

Miss Bleek in her paper on 'Bushman Terms of Relationship' <sup>1</sup> has recorded /Kung terms. Students of the subject interested in comparing her paper with this will find them in agreement to a considerable extent, but Miss Bleek's paper does not go so deeply into the terminology as this does nor does it bring out the significance of the factor of the name.<sup>2</sup>

Our material on /Kung kin terminology is presented in two parts. (I) The first part (A) deals with terms applied to consanguineous kin, and explains the factor of the name and the way the application of terms is extended through the factor of the name to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, in what we call the name-relationship; and (B) deals with terms applied to affines. (II) The second part deals with certain aspects of behaviour related to kin terminology, touching briefly upon marriage prohibitions and preferences from the point of view of terminology. It deals more fully with the joking relationship, an aspect of behaviour which relates closely to terminological categories. The paper finally touches upon the way the name-relationship serves as an amalgamating factor within a whole region among people who have no larger organized social units than autonomous bands, small ones of 10-15 persons up to large ones of 40-60 persons, composed of consanguineous kin and their affines.

Space does not permit here a description of the composition of bands, but we hope in a future publication to give data on the family and bands, on hunting and veldkos territories, marriage, residence, settlement patterns, and on the behaviour among kin in forming hunting and gathering parties, arrow-lending, meat-sharing, gift-giving, &c.

<sup>1</sup> D. F. Bleek, 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923-6), pp. 57-70.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Bleek (*ibid.*) sometimes gives the descriptive phrase in place of, or in addition to, the term, as if we should say father's brother or mother's brother instead of uncle. For instance, *ba sig* is a descriptive phrase meaning father's younger brother or younger sister. There are differences of spelling. We should like to follow Miss Bleek's spelling, but we put down as best we could what we heard and cannot change over to her spelling because in the different areas the Bushmen's pronunciation may possibly have varied slightly. There are some terms given by Miss Bleek which we did not hear in the Nyae Nyae region. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae do not use the term *tsu* for Br. We did not hear *lga*, nor *soig/lga*, nor *tsu* as a prefix to *sig*. Otherwise the terms we record are recognizable as the same terms which Miss Bleek records. Miss Bleek, on the other hand, does not record all the terms which we record as used in the

Nyae Nyae area. The principal difference lies, we think, in her not taking into account the factor of the name. We think she had an inkling of there being such a factor among the /Kung she worked with, for she says they had a word */kw* which she thought meant 'kinsman' or 'namesake'. In any case, she does not show all the terms which in the Nyae Nyae region might be applied to grandparents, grandchildren and collaterals on both the paternal and maternal sides. A detailed comparison of the papers would show several examples, but one will suffice to illustrate the point. Miss Bleek records the terms for FaBr, *tsu*, and MoBr, *tsom/lga*, giving the impression that the /Kung system makes a terminological distinction between the paternal and maternal siblings, whereas we found that in the Nyae Nyae area both terms, *tsu* and *tsom/lga*, might be used for either FaBr or MoBr, and, besides, that the sibling term, elder Br, might also be used for FaBr or MoBr, as will be explained.

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FOREWORD.

X137 The Kalahari is not a sandy desert in the sense that it is devoid of  
312 vegetation; it is the absence of surface water which makes the region such  
151 a hazard to human habitation. It is the last refuge of the Bushman.  
224 Primitive though he is, he survived in this inhospitable environment  
823 owing to his acute powers of perception and his fine appreciation of the  
124 gifts of nature. He is a skilled hunter with his bow and arrow and has an  
intimate knowledge of the natural resources of food and water. Dr. Story  
compliments him by saying that his knowledge was usually imparted  
cheerfully and with humour and "always with intelligence".

121 The Division of Botany was grateful to accept the invitation for Dr.  
Story to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition of  
1955. This was the fifth expedition of its kind and had as its objective  
the further documentation of the way of life of the Bushman. Dr. Story's  
assignment was to investigate the plants used by them in obtaining food  
and water.

It is inevitable that, with the advance of civilisation, the remnants  
of this interesting race will lose its intimate contact with nature and in the  
end its very identity. Wishing to complete their records before this  
happens the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody organisation, is, as we go to  
press, returning on yet another expedition. The Division of Botany is  
glad of this opportunity to continue the collection of data on the plants  
of economic importance to the Bushmen in the Kalahari.

The balance in nature between supply and demand is of endless  
interest to the ecologist. In times of plenty—when vegetation is abundant  
—the animal population increases: in times of poverty—when the vegeta-  
tion is reduced by the prevailing climatic conditions—the animal popula-  
tion is reduced by the effects of hunger and thirst. So it is with the primi-  
tive human, who is dependent for his survival on the animal and plant life  
which surrounds him. Overpopulation at any time spells destruction for  
him at a later date. It is obvious too, that primitive man must have had  
a strong influence on the distribution and density of edible wild plants.  
X137 Some will have become more widespread and others less numerous. More  
and more examples of rare species among the tuberous rooted *Asclepia-  
daceae* have come to light during the botanical exploration of southern  
Africa. It is felt that the edibility of these and some other tuberous rooted  
plants, in a large measure, accounts for their sparse distribution.

Dr. Story's observations support this view, and many other interest-  
ing facts are recorded in his preliminary report on the vegetable aspect  
of the Bushman's diet.

R. A. Dyer,

Chief: Division of Botany and  
Director of Botanical Survey.

Pretoria,

October, 1957.

137 There were more species of grass, and, particularly on the dunes, more of  
 136 trees and shrubs. The fauna was also richer for there were buffalo and  
 elephant and many waterfowl in addition to the animals found in the  
 Kalahari.

197 The Bushman languages represented in this paper are classified  
 [28] according to Bleek's *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*  
 (1929). They are !h3:, the closely interrelated ||anakwe, !gikwe and  
 Naron, and Auen (see also Bleek, 1928: 60-64).

!h3: is a member of the southern group, in which the lip click is  
 found, and a dialect of what Bleek calls |nu||en, S6 in her system of  
 [94] classification. Bleek's spelling is !k3:, but I heard the click aspirated.  
 It is spoken in the neighbourhood of Lehututu, which is 150 miles south  
 of Ghanzi.

||anakwe is spoken to the east of Ghanzi, and has been studied by  
 Maingard (1957).

The centre of the !gikwe language appears to be in the country to  
 the south-east of Ghanzi. It is a member of Bleek's Central group, closely  
 allied to Naron and easily understood by Naron speakers although many  
 [94] words are different. A curious feature of the phonetics is the occurrence  
 of the ejective lateral explosive followed immediately by the velar glottal  
 affricate (see Cole, 1955: 23 and Beach 1938: 222-223). The first sound  
 is not mentioned in any papers that I have seen on the Bushman languages.

[114] Naron is Bleek's C2. There is an error which is liable to confuse  
 one on page 3 of her publication, where the languages of the Naron and  
 Masarwa of Tati have been transposed. Naron should be under C2 and  
 the Masarwa language under C1. A grammatical sketch of Naron is  
 given in Bleek's paper of 1928.

Auen, Bleek's N1, is the eastern form of the !khū linguistic group  
 and is spoken round Gautscha Pan. It was studied by Maingard when he  
 was a member of this same expedition and an account of it is given in  
 his paper of 1957. In this paper I refer to it as Eastern !khū.

124 The work done in the Kalahari was done through interpreters, and  
 much of that in the northern area likewise, except towards the end of the  
 expedition when through closer contact with the Bushmen for a longer  
 time than in the south, I was able to acquire a smattering of the Eastern  
 !khū language, enough to ask straightforward questions and to understand  
 straightforward replies. The phonetics of the Bushman languages are a  
 study in themselves, and I do not claim that my spellings and indications  
 104 of the tones are exact. In the orthography I have followed Bleek (1929)  
 194 with the following exceptions:—

1. I have placed the n first when it is combined with a click. It has  
 been the convention to place the n after the click in the written  
 Khoisan languages, the argument being that the n and the click  
 are pronounced simultaneously (Meinhof, 1909: 5). To my  
 ear the n is the first sound in the combination.
2. Bleek does not mention the voiced h, which sometimes follows  
 a nasalised click. I have accordingly followed Doke (1936:  
 448) and used the symbol ß.

For easy reference, the symbols I have used are listed at the end of  
 this introductory chapter.

137 spreading some like the Grewias and the melons whose seeds pass through the alimentary canal apparently unharmed and reducing others like the Eulophias and Vignas which have edible underground storage organs. It is perhaps significant that, with two exceptions, the edible members of the family Asclepiadaceae were rarely found. In this paper there are 11, from Raphionacme to Fockea inclusive—nearly all important food plants with underground storage organs. The two commoner exceptions were *Sarcostemma viminale* which is sometimes poisonous and *Pentarrhnum insipidum* which has edible leaves and fruits but an inedible perennial root.

146 I am not qualified to speak on the health of the Bushmen, but it is apparent even to the layman that they are very unlikely to suffer from any deficiency disease while on their natural diet. When they are recruited for labour and fed on an unbalanced diet their health will be undermined and they will be less able to resist the rigours of their normal life when their contracts expire.

11.4 Their study by serious workers is to be encouraged for it should lead to their stability as a race and the enrichment of our knowledge, but contacts with irresponsible strangers is unfortunate and observations like the following by Brown (1954: 130) are valueless and regrettable:—

"They are wonderful runners. When I chased one with the clanging of a bell he set off at a good bat into the distance, and kept it up until out of sight."

122 During the three months in which the field work was done, the expenses of my transport and keep were met from the funds of the expedition, and this I gratefully acknowledge. Dr. R. A. Dyer, Chief of the Division of Botany, gave me the opportunity of joining the expedition, and all facilities for working up the results of the field work. Most of the determinations were done by my colleagues in the Division of Botany, and of them Miss I. C. Verdoorn, author of *Edible Wild Fruits of the Transvaal*, read through the typescript and gave me valuable advice. Dr. L. E. Codd deserves special thanks for the way he saw to the growing of the considerable quantities of roots, bulbs and seeds sent from the Kalahari.

000 I thank Mr. L. K. Marshall, who led the expedition, and the members of it, for their interest and kindness, also Kernel Ledimo, a fluent speaker of the Eastern !khū language, who was always ready to translate or to pilot me through its little-known and fascinating grammar and phonetics. My notes on the Bushman languages were kindly checked by Prof. L. F. Maingard, and the ethnological literature was supplied mainly by Dr. N. J. van Warmelo of the Department of Native Affairs. I am indebted to Messrs. Midgeley, Martin and Scholtz of the Bechuanaland Administration for hospitality and for enabling me to see parts of the territory that I should not otherwise have seen. My thanks would not be complete without mention of the Bushmen whose knowledge is the foundation of this paper.

[124] The information was seldom reluctantly given—usually cheerfully and with humour, and always with intelligence.

*Pollichia campestris* Ait. (4963, 5040) Photograph 15.

A small grey-green bush with much-branched slender soft stems, fairly compact when growing in the open but usually found as a semi-scrambler up to four feet high. The leaves arise in tufts of about three, the tufts being opposite each other and at intervals of anything up to an inch along the stem. They are lanceolate and usually under half an inch long. The plant bears what at first sight appear to be fleshy translucent fruits like small white or yellowish mulberries, but which are actually parts of the flowers.

This is a widespread plant throughout Africa, and was seen at intervals all along the route taken by the expedition.

The fleshy parts of the flowers are edible and sweet, with a queer earthy flavour, and are loosely attached so that they may be easily collected by pulling the stems through the hands. The plant, however, did not appear common enough to be of importance as a food.

*Boscia albitrunca* (Burch.) Gilg and Benedict (4998, 5208) Photograph 16.

|                      |         |
|----------------------|---------|
| !h5: Bushman.....    | ʔhun    |
| !ganakwe Bushman...  | n!ʔu-ni |
| !gikwe Bushman.....  | n!ʔu-ni |
| Naron Bushman.....   | n!ʔu-ni |
| Eastern !khū Bushman | zā      |

This is a rather variable tree, sometimes with erect branches and sometimes with a spreading crown, usually bearing many thin twigs with much dead wood among them. The bark is sometimes loose, dark and coarsely fissured and sometimes white and flaky. The species was also often seen in the form of a many-stemmed shrub about four feet high. It is evergreen, and did not seem to be at all affected by the heavy frosts that were experienced in the central Kalahari. The leaves arise singly or in bunches of four or five from small knobs on the twigs, and are leathery and about one inch long and a third as wide. Although the flowers are small and inconspicuous as individuals, they are borne in masses towards the tips of the twigs and make quite a show. In the Cape and the Transvaal at least the tree appears to be sporadic in its flowering. The fruits are borne on half-inch jointed stalks, and are half an inch in diameter, pale-skinned and translucent, with several large stones surrounded by a thin, watery pulp.

The tree was scattered evenly throughout the country from Molepolole to Ghanzi and Gautscha Pan, and has been recorded from the Cape Province northwards to the tropics. It occurred singly, occasionally in open communities, but it was never seen to form thickets.

The fruits are eaten by the Bushmen, but they do not make pleasant eating, for the pulp has a rather slimy texture and a sickly-sweet taste.

Sim (1907:123) refers to a meal which is prepared from the roots by drying and beating them. The resulting meal is then sifted to remove the fibres and may be made into a porridge. There are reports of gastrointestinal disturbances after the eating of *Boscia* roots, but the reports have not been confirmed, and Steyn (1934: 561) fed large quantities to a rabbit without ill effects. It is suspected that people are susceptible only when they are not accustomed to this food. The Bushmen were not asked about their use of the roots, and did not volunteer any information.

The older trees are often hollow, and form natural reservoirs for rain water which is tapped by the Bushmen. (See *Adansonia*.)

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576 show affection openly only to people of the same sex and  
593 to their children. Tsetchwe looked at Gai, though, and she  
smiled.

● 124 Twikwe greeted us by smiling her wry smile and saying:  
825 "So."

262 The springbok was thrown to the ground, but before it  
could go into the pot, Bill Donnellan, the doctor, came over  
to the werf to dissect it, this being an opportunity to find  
what the Bushmen thought about the systems of the body  
and what they knew about anatomy.

Gai agreed to tell what he knew, so the springbok was  
dragged to a sandy spot and a small fire was built—just two  
crossed sticks with one or two coals and a tiny flame, yet it  
warmed us, as the evening was becoming very cold. All the  
people sat around to watch as Bill opened the belly of the  
springbok and rolled it onto its back. He pointed to the dia-  
phragm and asked what it was. Gai told him the name.  
"What is it for?" Bill asked.

"We eat it."

"Is it for anything else?"

"We don't know. We just eat it."

"What about the liver?"

"We eat the liver."

"Does the liver do anything for the springbok?"

"It stays there and then we kill him and eat it."

"And what about the stomach?"

"We Bushmen eat the stomach, too, and all the things in  
the springbok."

"Doesn't the stomach do anything for the springbok?"

"Yes, he eats grass which goes in there and makes him fat,  
and then we eat the fat."

124  
825 Unwilling to give up easily, Bill passed on to the urogenital  
system, which is, after all, exterior and which anyone should

*The Fire*

71

know, but Gai became embarrassed and said gravely that<sup>124</sup>  
Pishiboro put that system there for reproduction and he alone<sup>825</sup>  
knew how it worked.

Ukwane then said that he would explain instead, because<sup>221</sup>  
he was an old man. Gai could not speak of sex in front of<sup>831</sup>  
women because it was both improper and dangerous and<sup>784</sup>  
would weaken his power to hunt, but Ukwane was too old<sup>826</sup>  
for hunting and, besides, was past the age when many of the<sup>888</sup>  
tabus concerning sex applied to him. Old Bushmen under-<sup>124</sup>  
stand everything better anyway, young Bushmen say.

Ukwane knew a great deal. He named every major part,<sup>124</sup>  
inside and out, of the animal, even naming the major veins<sup>825</sup>  
and arteries that lead to and from the heart. We were not sur-  
prised to find that Bushmen, who prefer to be specific rather  
than general when dealing with minute things, distinguish  
more exterior parts of the body than we do. They have names,  
for example, for the inside of the elbow and the back of the  
knee. The leg of an animal means the hind leg, the front leg  
is the arm, and these are called by the same names as the  
arm and leg of human beings. Birds, too, fly with their arms  
and land on their legs, but I never could discover what insects  
do.

Ukwane went on to explain the various systems of the body,  
saying in the case of the urogenital system that liquid, which  
was "the little springboks," ran from the testicles into the  
kidneys, then down again and out the penis. He stuck to this  
version, too, even when Bill suggested that it might be other-  
wise. This does not mean that Bushmen think that urine<sup>[842]</sup>  
causes conception, for they recognize the role of semen, be-  
lieving that it unites with the menstrual blood of the mother  
to form a child.

Ukwane understood the course of food and water through<sup>124</sup>  
the digestive system, but said that food and water spread out<sup>827</sup>

124 like sweat to all the body. He did not understand what the  
827 lungs did, or that air went into them, or that air went through  
the trachea. Breathing, said Ukwane, is air going down into  
the stomach, where it makes belches. Ukwane did not know  
about the circulation of the blood, believing that blood ebbs  
and flows, nor did he recognize pulses in the body except the  
pulse at the V of the throat, noticeable in people who wear  
little clothing, which is known as "the place of the heart."

124 The cold night had come, and Ukwane in the frosty grass  
826 was shivering, yet he sat for an hour keeping his patience,  
putting his hands into the cold blood of the springbok to  
trace veins to their source, prefacing all his answers with posi-  
tive, qualifying remarks. "I am an old man," he would say,  
"and I know that the diaphragm separates the heart and lungs  
from the stomach," or "I am Ukwane, and I know that when  
the heart is gone the animal cannot live, or a person either,  
because the heart is that animal's life."

857 As the dissection and the conversation went on, the three  
526 young boys, joined occasionally by Nhwakwe, the baby,  
played games all the time, creeping in between the adults to  
warm themselves by the fire and by the heat of bodies when  
they could stand the cold no longer. If you wear no clothing  
your skin is sensitive to very slight changes of temperature,  
and even the warmth of someone sitting beside you or the  
heat radiated by a few coals makes a lot of difference. When  
the young boys were thawed they would again leap into the  
darkness to play some more. They played a game of horse  
and rider, in which one boy would leap astride another boy  
and ride without holding on while the other boy would stag-  
ger forward as fast as he could. In a moment, both would  
fall, jump up again, hitch up their loincloths, and resume the  
game, only this time the horse would jump on the back of

## BUSHMAN TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

59

I think *!kōlō*, *!kolte* "grandfather", "grandmother" are derived from *!kulya* "great", "large", "stout". These terms are used in addressing any elderly relatives, or people distinctly senior to the speaker, much as "Oom", "Tante" are used in Afrikaans. In the tables appended I give these titles, where they were specially mentioned in a list of terms of relationship, but in the folklore they are so widely used, that one might sometimes translate them "old man", "old woman".

I can give no explanation of the fact, that a woman calls her father's parents her "real" grandparents, and her mother's parents her "lent" ones, while a man reverses the process; his mother's parents are his "real" grandparents. My aunt, Dr. Lloyd, who took down this information, evidently made no inquiry, and to-day there are no Colonial Bushmen left capable of telling us. These adjectives are not used in ordinary conversation, any more than we use the terms "paternal", "maternal".

The Bushman did not explain why the mother's brother is called "son". I should say a particularly affectionate relationship is indicated. As to the title for the mother's sister, he said: "They are wont to say their 'grandmother' to their mother's sister, they say their 'grandmother' to her. A man says his 'daughter' to her. Then the man's aunt says her 'father' to him, for they (the mother and aunt) feel that they are women who are one. Bushmen say, women who are one, to the women of one house. When girls have one mother, they say they are women who are one."

*!ke* means "companion", "friend", "someone loved". *Xoa* *!ke-ko* means "mother's other friend" or "chum", of whom was said: "They make their other friend of one person; they say their other friend to her."

In certain *!xam* tales the wife's unmarried younger sister stays with her, as helper and baby-minder. An elder sister would be sure to be married. This sister I take to be the "other friend" of the wife, the "little sister-in-law" of the husband, the *!kouki-Opwa*. For this term is only applied to a little girl.

I know of no marriage laws among the Bushmen to explain the title of sister being occasionally given to the father's or mother's sister's daughter. Bushmen sometimes marry a cousin of that or any other sort, but more often they marry someone else. The only girl a Bushman may not marry is his own sister.

[Text continues on page 62]

## /KUNG BUSHMAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS<sup>1</sup>

LORNA MARSHALL

MY purpose in this paper is to describe some of the religious beliefs held currently by the /Kung Bushmen of the interior bands of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. I shall limit the paper to a description of their concepts of the gods, the problem of evil, supplication, the spirits of the dead, and the ceremonial curing dance, but leave for another paper a more detailed account of medicine men, how they become medicine men, and more about their practices and beliefs. We gathered the information which I present principally on our expeditions of 1952-3 and 1955. 121  
[107]

Schapera traces considerable borrowing in the past by the Bushmen from Hottentots and Bergdama.<sup>2</sup> I did not have opportunity to trace, to any significant extent, possible present-day borrowing or exchange of ideas, and can only report that contact, and therefore opportunity for exchange, takes place between the interior bands of /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region and the Tswana and Herero on the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung have contact also, but much less frequently, with Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south and through them to some extent with Naron in the Ghanzi region of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae occasionally see /Kung to the north of their region, who in turn see the Okavango and Ovambo tribes. Although the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not enough contact with white people before we came to absorb any Christian ideas directly from them, and no Christian missionary has been in the interior of the region, an influence of Christianity cannot be precluded because the Tswana do have contact with Christianity. Our own highly valued interpreter, Kernel Ledimo, who grew up near the border and spoke Bushman from his childhood, had been educated in an Anglican mission school. Although there has been contact with people who have Christian ideas, I do not recognize with certainty any Christian elements among /Kung beliefs. 177  
648  
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One is left to wonder if the change in the concept of the nature of the gods, particularly in that of the great god, which appears when one compares the old tales with current concepts, was brought about entirely by the philosophical and logical powers of the /Kung themselves and by their adjustment to emotional needs, or whether influences from without played some part. I hope that the research of others may throw light on this point.

I should like to mention a few of the well-known Bushman beliefs, recorded in the past, which the present Nyae Nyae /Kung do *not* have and then proceed to a more systematic description of beliefs which they hold at present. 121

The Nyae Nyae /Kung have various beliefs and lore about the sun and moon, Canopus, the Pleiades, and other stars, and they have the well-known myth of the moon and the hare; but they do not attribute active divinity to the heavenly bodies, which are 'just stars', they say in effect, and we did not find that they either fear 821

<sup>1</sup> We are grateful for a grant towards the publication of this long article.

<sup>2</sup> I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*,

London: Routledge, 1930. Reference is particularly to chapter vii.

/KUNG BUSHMAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

217

also commonly used for any man (not a boy) older than the speaker when the speaker must avoid saying the name. The people address the gods as /nan and *gaoxa* more commonly than as *n/iha*. We were told that they call the great god /nan, 'when he is good'.

It is interesting to know that the power of the great god, his omnipotence which he was so mysteriously able to create for himself, is called *gaoxa* and that the special potent 'spiritual' medicine which the great god puts into the medicine men, the curing power, is also called *gaoxa*.

The /Kung often call the great god 'father' especially in supplication, and plead that he succour his 'children' and give them rain or good fortune in the hunt or whatever they may be asking for.

*Nonabe* is a term of great disrespect, a 'scolding' term. When used for a human being it is a curse and a terrific insult. A man who felt himself greatly wronged by another and in violent anger would say of the man who wronged him, 'That *Nonabe*!' But he would not say this to the man's face 'for if he did there might be a fight (so great is the insult). When he saw the man in person he would come in peace to him, not showing his anger'. *Nonabe* is used in blasphemy by the medicine men in trance, along with other insults when they are combating the gods and the *//gauruasi* in the medicine dances, demanding that they take away the evil they have brought.

*The Fear of the Names*

The Nyae Nyae /Kung 'fear' (*kaa*) to utter the names of the gods. The word 'means both' to be afraid of, as one is afraid of a mamba, and 'to respect and avoid', as one respects one's mother-in-law and avoids speaking to her and saying her name.

Children must strictly avoid saying any of the names of the gods. Old men and women need not observe an absolutely restrictive taboo in uttering the names, and may and do say them, but there seems to be an element of taboo (it is a 'death-thing', they say) and fear of drawing attention to themselves. We were aware of their unwillingness to speak of religious matters early in our work and therefore waited until our relations were well established before questioning them. Our information was gathered for the most part in 1933 and 1935 at many different sessions with fifteen men and eight women informants who had proved to be reliable. Others joined the talks casually and when they wished to do so. Our informants declared themselves willing to teach me because I wished to know. Throughout the discussions people varied in the degree of caution and discretion with which they spoke the names. Sometimes we talked literally in whispers and usually at least in low voices, saying 'the one in the east', 'the one in the west'. On one occasion /Ti/kay told me that my questions made him sick. He meant to claim, I ascertained, that he had an actual physical sensation such as a nervous twinge or slight nausea. The woman who first told me the name of the wife of the great god put her lips to my ear and whispered, barely audibly, '*Huudi*'. Next day, unfortunately, she had a high fever. She recovered, but the episode put an end to my trying to learn from her about the wives of the gods. /U, when someone was ill at Cho/ana, and she was filled with anxiety and longing to be home at Gautscha, made me promise not to say the names or ask any more questions, at least until we were all safely back.

as well, to Ernst O. J. Westphal, Professor of African Languages, University of Cape Town; to Miss Margaret E. Shaw, Keeper of Ethnography, South African Museum, Cape Town; and to Mr. B. J. Grobbelaar, Ethnologist, and Miss Rona MacCalman, Archaeologist, both of whom are at the State Museum in Windhoek, South West Africa.

I want to thank the officers of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Government for their cooperation and hospitality, particularly Mr. and Mrs. Phillip Brown of the Tsetse Fly Control Unit, Nkaneng; Mr. Robert Gilkes, District Officer, Maun; Messrs. Eustace Clark and Ian Gass, District Commissioners, Ngamiland; and Mr. George B. Silberbauer, formerly Officer-in-Charge of the Bushman Survey of the Bechuanaland Protectorate.<sup>1</sup>

Special thanks are due to Mrs. E. Moremi, head of the Batawana Tribal Administration (and Regent of the Tribe during the minority of her son Letsolatebe, the Paramount-chief-elect) for permission to conduct research in the Batawana Tribal District. Thanks are due, as well, to Headman Isak Utuhile,

• [124] whose administrative district includes the Dobe area. While in the field I received valuable assistance from Hakekgoshe Isak, interpreter; Enoch Tabiso, cook; and Onesimus Mbombo, driver-mechanic.

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1. at present at the University of the Witwatersrand.